"HOW SEIMELIGARĀRA TAUGHT CANOE-BUILDING TO SEILANGI

Galēt was very sad because he could not see his wife. He was living in the Men's House, while she, Ganauliwlr, was in her mother's house. He did no work, staying inside his mosquito net. Food was brought to him there. Ganauliwlr, too, stayed inside the mosquito net in her mother's house. [54]

Then Virar came, and took Ganauliwlr away with him to Ulimatau.

Galēt had two brothers, Wētreilok was the husband of Seramaliwōk, sister of Ganualiwlr.

Wētreilōk said to his wife 'I am going to talk to Galēt. Then we will go bathing together. While we are in the water, you come past, dressed in your best clothes.'

Seramaliwok made ready, putting on a new skirt, flowers in her hair, and red turmeric paint on her face and body.

Wētreilok went to the Men's House and called to Galēt, who was asleep in his mosquito net.

'Wake up, Galēt! Your wife is gone! Virar took her away!'

He persuaded Galēt that the first thing to do was to go bathing.

While they were in the water, Seramaliwōk came by in all her finery.

'Oh, look!' Galēt cried. 'There is the wife for me!'

'Never mind that one', Wētreilōk replied. 'She is my wife. But she is nothing <

compared to her sister. I mean GanauliwIr, the wife that Virar took away from you.'

'Is GanauliwIr as beautiful as all that?'

'Indeed she is.'

The thought of losing such a beautiful woman made Galēt furious. He blew his whistle, until people said 'What's the matter with Galēt?' He took a stick and began to wreck the Men's House.

His father, the chief, tried to console him by summoning all the women, so that Galēt might look them over and choose the one he liked best to be his new wife. When they came, there was one that Galēt thought he liked very much.

But Wētreilok told him 'Oh, she is nothing like so beautiful as the one you had before.'

Galēt broke out again in fury. He blew his whistle, took his stick, and began to wreck his father's house.

Then he decided to have a canoe made, so that he could go to Ulimatau and try to get his wife back. The work was in charge of Seimeligarāra, who had studied the art of canoe-building with Seilangi and Wolfat. He made a canoe in the most approved style of the time. But Galēt did not like it.

'What kind of canoe would you like?'

'Oh, I want something different.'

Seimeligarāra went to Seilangi and asked 'What kinds of canoes can you make?' [55]

Seilangi said 'Only the one kind, like all those we have here.'

'Well just you wait. I'm going to make something different.'

So Seimeligarāra went to work and made a canoe with a special kind of forked end (metaliwā). The fork had a wide, round opening instead of a pointed one. Moreover, he painted the inner curve of the fork white; the outer half, black, instead of making it black all over. When it was launched it looked very fine, and proved to be a fast sailer. Galēt was greatly pleased with it.

Galēt said 'Now I am going to Ulimatau to get my wife. Who is going with me?'

His two brothers, Wētreilok and Uterang, went with him; also Wētreilok's wife, Seramailowok.

Galēt took the sheet. Uterang went aft and took the wheel. Wētreilok went below and manned the pump.*

Seramaliwok lay on the platform over the outrigger, under the pandanus shelter (gaimwemwe). Galēt had had this rigged so that it opened toward the hull of the canoe instead of away from it, as is usual. This was so that he could look at Seramaliwok.

During the voyage Galēt flirted with Seramaliwok, and at last put his finger in her

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"* Tom said 'wheel' and 'pump', although in an Ifalik canoe, to this day, steering is done by a steering paddle, and bailing by a wooden bailer."

genitals.

Wētreilōk, down in the hull, smelled the discharge, but went on working the pump.**

They reached Ulimatau and took down sail and mast.

Seramaliwōk went ashore and found her sister, GanauliwIr, in the house of Virar.

'Where is your husband?'

'He is out in the bush, putting pandanus leaves around the trunks of the coconut trees so that the rats can't climb them and eat the young coconuts.'

'I have come to take you with me.'

'Where?'

'To see your old husband, and decide whether you like him best.'

'All right. But the husband I have now is a wonderful man. There is no-one like him.'

'Still, you'd better come and see the old one again.'

When GanauliwIr saw Galēt, the husband she had deserted, she decided at once that she loved him best, and got in the canoe with him and went back to Ururial.

(At this point in other versions comes an account of a dance in which Galet wins

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"** This bit of obscenity, which has nothing to do with the rest of the story, unless to emphasize Galēt's passionate nature, seems to be introduced for humorous effect. I took it down solemnly, but found out later that a more acceptable response would have been uproarious laughter."

[56] back his wife's love; and on the return journey, instead of going in a canoe, she follows him as he walks on the waves.)

After the canoe he built had made such a successful voyage, Seimeligarāra went to Seilangi and offered to teach him canoe-building. He said he was willing to do this because he, Seimeligarāra, did not have enough people to work for him, while Seilangi had plenty.

So Seimeligarāra taught Seilangi the art of the measuring-line. If you use it rightly, the canoe will be fast in the water. If you don't use it, but rely on your eye and the adz, the canoe will be very slow. Seimeligarāra taught Seilangi all the proper measurements.

Seilangi went to work on a canoe. Whenever he had any doubts or difficulties, he took them to Seimeligarāra. Seimeligarāra taught him how to shape the bottom of the canoe, how to shape and measure the sail, and how to make holes in the outrigger float to tie it to the booms.

Seilangi taught the art of the line to SemerIk. From these three it spread among the gods. People down on earth asked the three gods to descend and teach them the art. The gods came down, so now people know how to shape a canoe."

1: Burrows--66-67 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502, 539 Ifalik

"The myths in Tom's 'talk for cap'n' follow, in the order in which he gave them. In one or two places, as noted in parenthetical comment, some other order would seem more logical. Indeed, the whole episode of magical canoe-building by Seilangi, god of shipwrights, seems to belong with the lore of canoe carpentry rather than that of navigation. If Tom [67] had been asked, it may be that he would have accepted such changes. But it seemed that a more accurate picture of native thinking would be given by not questioning his original version, thus giving native tradition precedence over a foreigner's notion of logic."

1: Burrows--67-73 (1947-48) Woleaians /-//
116, 502, 539 Ifalik

"1. How the Lore of Seamanship Came to Ifalik

The god Aluluei came to Bwennap, an island of sand with one wutu tree growing on it. Bwennap can be seen from Puluwat. He took a wife there, and they had two sons and a daughter. The older boy was called Longolap, the younger LongorIk.

Underneath Bwennap is a large, populous place, of which Aluluei is chief. A sister of his also lives there.

Aluluei, who was the greatest of navigators, began to teach his lore to his sons. One day Longolap came to his father and said he wanted to take a wife. Aluluei objected, because if Longolap were to marry, he would spend too much time with his wife, when he should be listening to the lore of seamanship. But Longolap was set on marrying, and finally had his way. After that, he spend [sic] a great deal of time with his wife, and did not come back and listen to his father for many days. At last he came again, but only learned a little bit.

LongorIk, the younger son, did not want to marry. He stayed with his father, and learned all about seamanship.

One day LongorIk told his father he wanted to cut a breadfruit tree and make himself a canoe. He took his adz and went out in the land below Bwennap, where there were plenty of trees of all kinds.

On the way to the breadfruit grove LongorIk met Longolap.

'Where are you going?'

'I am going to the grove to cut a breadfruit tree, to make myself a canoe.'

'I'll go along and help you.'

So they went together to the grove, selected a tree, felled it, and worked all day hewing it into shape. By evening they had the job well along. Then LongorIk went home to his father, and Longolap back to his wife.

In the morning they returned, only to find the tree standing, with all the chips back in place, and nothing to show that any work had been done on it. They felled it again, and worked all day hewing it into shape. By evening they had the job well along. Then LongorIk went home to his father, and Longolap back to his wife.

Aluluei asked LongorIk 'Is your canoe nearly finished?'

'Yes.'

On the third morning LongorIk set out again, but this time Longolap did not go with him. Coming to the tree, he found it once more standing, with nothing to show for all their work. [68]

This time LongorIk did not set about felling the tree again, but went back to his father. He said to Aluluei:

'Isn't there something about the lore of seamanship that you haven't told me?'

'What makes you think that?'

'Why, every day we fell a tree and work away hewing it to shape. When we go back

in the morning, there it is standing, with nothing to show that it ever felt the edge of an adz.'

'Oh! So that's it! Tell me, did you see a bird while you were working?'

'Yes.'

'Well, you go back and get to work again, and when you see the bird, talk to it.' And Aluluei told his son how to greet the bird.

LongorIk went back to the grove, felled the tree again, cut off a length of four fathoms, and was hard at work hewing it to shape when the bird flew toward him, uttering the high trilling spund that gods make.

LongorIk greeted the bird with the prolonged cry his father had taught him: 'Va irðu!'

At this the bird changed to the form of a man. It was Seilangi, god of canoe carpenters.

'Oho! That's better!', the god said. 'I think you didn't know me before. Who told you who I am?'

'It was my father, Aluluei.'

'Very well. Go back and tell your family that the canoe is all finished.'

So LongorIk went and told his family.

'Finished so soon?' Aluluei asked him.

'Yes.'

So Aluluei told the women to plait a pandanus mat sail for the canoe. Meanwhile

Seilangi summoned his people, the ants. They finished the canoe in one day, mast and all, except for the sail, and carried it into the water.

When LongorIk came and saw his fine new canoe, Seilangi asked him:

'Is the sail finished?' [69]

'All finished.'

'Bring it along.'

So LongorIk brought the sail, and it was quickly bent on.

Then LongorIk told his family to make him plenty of food. He said to his father:

'I want to go to your land, Pie li Eluluei (Sands of Aluluei.)

'Very well. But take care! You will come to a place where they eat people. Follow my instructions exactly. When you come close to shore, and a man asks you 'Shall I anchor your canoe for you?', don't let him do it! Anchor it yourself. Then when they show you fresh water to bathe in, you will see two pools. One has fine, clear water, the other has dirty water. Be sure to bathe in the dirty water.

'Another thing: before you go to sleep, cut pieces of white coconut meat and tuck them under your eyebrows. Then when someone comes and looks at you he will see a gleam like the whites of your eyes, and will think you are wide awake. And finally, while you are there you must ask the people for a big stone that belongs to me.'

But before LongorIk was quite ready to go, his brother Longolap came to him and said:

'Don't you go this time! Let me go first. You can come later.'

So LongorIk let his elder brother take the canoe and go first.

Longolap set out. He only knew a little bit. But he got to the Sands of Aluluei, and there found his father Aluluei, who had come by magic, sitting under the lone wutu tree that grows there. Seilangi had come along, too, in the form of a sandpiper.

Longolap chanted the chant he had learned, to bring his canoe safe home, and set out on the return voyage. He came to another island. As he drew near shore, a man called out to him:

'What are you doing here?'

'I am going to the land of Aluluei.'

'Whose son are you?'

'Aluluei's son.'

'Very well. Let me take your anchor rope, and I will anchor your canoe.'

Longolap, who had not heard his father's instructions, let the stranger take the rope. The man tied it about a big mweial shell under the water. [70]

Longolap went ashore to the Men's House. A man asked him if he wanted to bathe, and offered to show him fresh water. He and his sailors went with the man, who showed them two pools, one of fine, clear water, and the other of dirty water. Since he only knew a little bit, and had not heard his father's instructions, he bathed in the fine, clear water.

Then Longolap came back to the men's house. Tired after their voyage, he and his men were soon asleep. While they were sleeping, the men of that land came upon them, seized them, and put them into the rounded end of the house, where the roof overhangs. They had this walled off like a separate room. They did not kill Longolap and his men. But the one who had anchored the canoe went and unfastened it, took it out to sea, set it adrift, and then returned.

Back home in Bwennap, LongorIk worried about his brother and wanted to go and find him. For that he needed another canoe. He went into the woods, thinking over his problem, and there met Seilangi.

'Do you want another canoe?'

'Indeed I do.'

'Well, just go back and tell your people to make the sail.'

LongorIk told his people, while Seilangi and his ants finished the canoe in one day, as before, and put it into the water. When the sail was bent on, LongorIk came and told his people to prepare plenty of food for the journey.

He sailed to the Sands of Aluluei, and there was his father waiting for him.

LongorIk and his sailors came ashore, tired and hungry. LongorIk said to his father: 'We want something to eat.'

Aluluei said: 'Look about this land. There are no coconut trees here, no taro. How can you eat?'

LongorIk answered: 'You find something.'

So Aluluei talked to his people underground, as if on the telephone. The women down there got together wot and pulax. The men climbed trees and got coconuts. They brought a great feast for LongorIk, then went back under the sands.

LongorIk said to his father: 'I want to go and find my brother Longolap.'

'Very well. Go. But do not forget any of the things I told you!'

'I won't forget.' [71]

LongorIk sailed on and came to land. He went through the pass into the lagoon and was nearing shore when the man who had deceived his brother called out:

'Give me a rope so I can anchor your canoe!'

'No, you go back ashore', LongorIk replied. 'I'll take care of the anchor.'

And he tied his canoe to a coconut tree.

He went into the Men's House, and the men of that place asked him 'What did you come here for?'

'I came for the big stone that belongs to my father, the stone of Aluluei. Is it here?'

'Yes. It is here.'

'I'd like to go and bathe.'

'You'd better let some of us show you where.'

Some of the men guided him and his crew to the water. They urged them to bathe in the fine, clear water, but LongorIk refused, and he and his men bathed in the dirty water.

Then they went back to the Men's House.

LongorIk told his sailors not to go to sleep yet. He had them prepare coconut meat and put it under their eyebrows, so that when they had to go to sleep that night, the people would think they were awake. The men of the place came during the night, but thinking they were awake, did not attack them.

In the morning LongorIk told the people he wanted to go back home.

'Can you bring me my father's stone?'

'Yes, but it will take all of us, men, women, and children, to haul it. It is very heavy.'

'Well, if you'll bring it to the shore today, I'll go tomorrow.'

So the people went into the interior and tugged and heaved at the stone. They could barely move it; but they kept at it, inching it along toward the shore.

When they were all at work, LongorIk went back to the Men's House. He hewed through the wall that closed off the rounded end, and found his brother and the crew that had come with him.

Longolap muttered drowsily 'What are you doing? I want to sleep.'

'Are you sleeping or are you dead?' [72]

'Just sleeping.'

'Well, you'll be dead if you stay in here much longer!'

He took them all to his canoe, untied the mooring line, and put out to sea, leaving the

people of that land tugging and heaving at the big stone.

When they came to the Sands of Aluluei, LongorIk went ashore and talked to his father.

'Did you bring your brother back?'

'Yes.'

'You see, it's just as I told you. Longolap doesn't know the lore of seamanship. He only knows a little bit.'

'Let's go back home now.'

So LongorIk went back to Bwennap, taking his brother with him in the canoe, while Aluluei went back by magic, and was waiting for them when they arrived.

They came ashore, and Longolap went to his wife. LongorIk, who had no wife, went home to his father.

(The episode that follows seems quite distinct from the story of Longolap and LongorIk. Logically, it might well precede that story. But Tom gave it as the conclusion to what has gone before.)

One day, early in the morning, a canoe came to Bwennap. It was a big canoe, but had no sail. It was propelled by paddles. In it were three gods: Valur, god of fish; Wëriëng, god of birds; and Segur, god of navigators.

Aluluei's daughter, who was bathing, saw the canoe coming and ran to her father, asking that food be prepared for the travelers. But the canoemen kept on paddling. The

canoe seemed about to pass the island without stopping.

The girl picked up a tiny coconut, no bigger than her fist, held it up, and called out to them to come.

'What for?'

'I want to go with you. I'll bring a coconut for you to drink.'

'All right. Bring it along.'

She waded out to the canoe with her coconut. When they saw the tiny thing, they said 'That is not enough.'

'Drink it anyway', the girl answered. [73]

One of the men in the canoe took the little nut and began to drink. He drank and drank until he had had all he could hold, but there was plenty of water left in it. He passed it to the next man, and so it went around, until all had drunk their fill. And still there was plenty of water left in the nut.

The three gods laughed with pleasure to find that the little coconut would hold so much water.

'Climb into the canoe', they told the girl. She got aboard.

They spread a chart before her.

'You see that? We are very grateful to you for bringing us that coconut, so we will let you have our chart. Look here. See all the islands? See all the birds? See all the fish? Take this, and give it to your father.'

The girl went back to Aluluei with the chart, and the canoe paddled on out of sight.

'What is this?' the girl asked her father when he had spread it out before him. 'I don't understand it.'

Aluluei understood it well, and was overjoyed to see it. Though he was a great navigator, there was much information here that he did not know. It had all the lore of seamanship: the positions of all the islands, and all the birds and fish that a navigator would see in voyaging from one to another.

Aluluei summoned the famous navigator Paluelap.

'Come look at this chart!'

Paluelap took it. He too could understand all that it revealed.

'Tell the people all that is on there. Teach them the lore of seamanship.'

So Paluelap began to teach the people. Many did not understand, but there were some who did. Thus the lore of seamanship became known in Bwennap. From there it spread to Puluwat and Souk. There it was learned by men from Satawan. From Satawan it came to Lamotrek, and so to Ifalik and Woleai and Faraulep.

That is how the lore of seamanship first came to Ifalik."

"2. Why Valur Changed His Name to Sagol

Wëriëng went from Bwennap, where there was hardly any food except coconuts, to Truk, to get food for his wife. His brother Valur went with him. Now Valur had been carrying on a stealthy love affair with Wëriëng's [74] wife. So when they were out of sight of land, Wëriëng threw Valur overboard and sailed on, thinking he had got rid of him.

But Valur found a piece of floating bamboo, crawled inside it, and used it as a canoe to get back to Bwennap. He hid in his house, letting the people think he was in Truk.

Wëriëng got a supply of breadfruit, taro, and red turmeric paint, and came back to Bwennap. He told the people Valur had taken sick and died on the way to Truk, and that he had buried him at sea.

Wëriëng stayed four days in Bwennap. While there he prepared an offering of food for Iolau, a god of navigators. Iolau makes people sick if they eat wot taro without mashing it, or eat any of his seven kinds of fish: trep, tak, igolau, atek, lipëre, gus, and apap. But Wëriëng knew a song to sing over the food, which would cause the god to take the curse off it, so that it could be eaten safely.

During the preparations for the feast, Valur got into a big food bowl, a fathom or more in length. Some women who were in the secret piled mashed taro over him, and brought the bowl to Wëriëng's house.

Wĕriĕng dipped his finger into the bowl, and Valur bit him.

'I'm not dead!' he shouted. 'Here I am!'

With that he stood up. Thus all the people knew that Wĕriĕng had lied when he said that Valur was dead. Wĕriĕng was shamed before the people.

Valur, in his anger, left Bwennap and came to Satawan, Lamotrek, Faraulep, Aurupik, Woleai and Ifalik.

He changed his name to Sagol, the name of the kind of bamboo he had used for a canoe when Wĕriĕng threw him overboard at sea."

"3. The Overconfidence of Longolap

Farewai understands the east and the west. By looking either at the morning sky in the west, he can forecast the weather--clouds, winds, rain, or fair weather. He taught this knowledge to his nephews, Longolap and LongorIk. Longolap only learned a little bit, but LongorIk learned everything.

LongorIk looked in the east and saw bad weather coming. Longolap looked in the west, and thought he saw fine weather. So in spite of his brother's warning, he put out to sea. A typhoon came, with torrents of rain, and broke in the hull of his canoe. Longolap was not drowned, but swam beside the wreck.

LongorIk looked at the sky and saw fine weather coming. So he made a big canoe. Then he took 2,000 coconuts, loaded the canoe with them, and went to look for his brother. His father, Paluelap, went with him. [75]

After a while they caught sight of Longolap, swimming beside the wreck of his canoe. They tied the 2,000 coconuts together, making a floating drydock of them. On this they placed the wreck of Longolap's canoe, and thus repaired it well enough so that he could make his way home in it.

LongorIk said to his brother 'See? What did I tell you?'

Longolap followed his brother's canoe back to their home. When they got there, Paluelap and LongorIk told Longolap he had better stay ashore thereafter. But he said

'No. I want to find the place where Aluluei lives.'

So he set forth again. He found the Sands of Aluluei. But there are two islands by that name. One is where Aluluei lives. The other is inhabited solely by sandpipers, who spend their time singing for the god. It was the island inhabited by sandpipers that Longolap found. When he saw that his grandfather Aluluei was not there, he went on.

There is an enormous taro growing in the ocean that belongs to Aluluei. A number of little taros grow close around it. Longolap came to this, and tried to get one of the little taros to eat. But in order to do this, it is necessary to sing a certain song, and Longolap did not know the song. So the ants of Aluluei bit him when he tried to pull the taro. He tried again and again, but at last had to give up.

Then for a long time Longolap saw no land, and had no food to eat. At last he came to a lone coconut tree, growing in the midst of the ocean. This, too, belongs to Aluluei. But in order to climb it a man must sing a certain song; and Longolap had not learned the song. So he could not climb the tree. Some of his sailors starved to death.

Again LongorIk came to the rescue and found him.

'What are you doing out here? You've been away from home a long time.'

At last Longolap had to admit that he did not know all he needed to know to succeed at seafaring.

'Come with me', said LongorIk. They came to the taro growing in the sea. LongorIk sang the proper song, pulled some of the little taros, and they had food to eat.

They went on and came to the lone cpconut tree. Again LongorIk sang the proper song, climbed the coconut tree, and they had ripe nuts to eat and young ones to drink.

LongorIk said 'Follow me. I'll show you the way home.'

But Longolap, now that he was well fed, had regained his confidence in himself. He said 'No. You go where you please. I know the way.' [76]

LongorIk sailed directly home. Longolap cruised about on the sea for four months, and could not find the way. He and his sailors were so famished they could not walk.

Once more LongorIk came and found him. 'I will show you the way. If you do not follow me you will die.' And Longolap, once more driven to admit his ignorance, agreed and followed his brother.

When they reached home, LongorIk waded ashore. But Longolap and his men had to be carried."

"This is not the place for a systematic analysis of these myths as examples of folklore. But a few striking characteristics are worth noting, if only to suggest some of the possibilities of such an analysis.

For one, the tales are developed to a considerable extent by repetition of incidents, one of the commonest devices in folk-tales. Examples of repeated incidents are: the tree twice restored after being felled and hewn; the two canoes built for LongorIk by Seilangi and his ants; the several voyages of LongorIk in search of Longolap; the anchoring of the canoe, choice of pools for bathing, and use of coconut meat to simulate whites of the eyes, on the cannibal island; the two visits to the huge taro and lone coconut that grow by themselves in the sea; and even such little phrases as the one about LongorIk knowing everything about navigation, while Longolap only knew a little bit.

One of the incidents in the first myth is widely distributed in Oceania, --the repeated restoration of the hewn tree by a god until he is properly placated, whereupon he builds a canoe out of the tree with miraculous speed. Frequently, as here, the god appears first as a bird. Beckwith, in 'Hawaiian Mythology' (pp. 272-3) notes the occurrence of this incident nearly everywhere in Polynesia; in one island generally classed as Melanesian (Mota of the Banks group); and in one Indonesian tribe (The Dyaks of Borneo). Probably several other incidents, such as the inexhaustible drinking nut, are also widespread.

In the story of Longolap and LongorIk, it is the younger child who is successful. This motif, 'youngest child successful', is world-wide. One variant of it is the incident of Cinderella and the glass slipper. Is this a piece of wish-fulfilment fantasy, a solace for younger children who are relegated to an inferior role? Such questions are easy to ask, but hard to answer with anything more trustworthy than a guess. A method of reaching rigorous scientific answers to such questions has yet to be developed.

Another outstanding characteristic of the two tales (or two variants of one tale?) about Longolap and LongorIk is that they serve to point a moral. This puts them in the category of fables, like those of Aesop. The moral here, or course, is: Don't let a woman distract you from your study of navigation.

Finally, all these myths have an inconsistency and shiftiness that give them a dream-like character. This shows up especially in comparison of [77] the myths with the 'genealogy', if it deserves the name, of the gods of navigation. In the genealogy Longolap and LongorIk are grandsons of Aluluei. In the myth they are his sons. In the genealogy Wëriëng and Valur are sons of Aluluei. In one of the myths they are strange gods from afar, who bring Aluluei the chart containing all the fine points about navigation. The other strange god does not appear in the genealogy at all.

The peculiar characteristics of the island Bwènnap reappear in the other island called 'Sands of Aluluei'. Both are sandy islands, with only one wutu tree growing on them. But underground, in both of them, is a large and populous realm, abounding with all

useful plants. Bwénnap is given a location in the Pacific. The Sands of Aluluei and the unnamed cannibal island are not located; but from Tom's statement that the gods of navigation live in a special part of the sky, I suppose that these islands may be thought of as in the sky. Yet canoes can reach them from Bwénnap.

Such inconsistencies and vaguenesses are of course not uncommon in folklore. The 'genealogy' looks a little like an attempt to pull the myths together and give them consistency; but if so, it is a very sloppy job. Evidently the custodians of these myths--that is, the navigators of Ifalik and the islands about--never got together and worked out an official, consistent version of them, as the priests of various other lands have done with their traditions.

After all, the myths serve what seems to be their main purpose without being precise and consistent. That purpose is to give the lore of navigation the dignity of divine origin. This wins respect for the lore of navigation and gives confidence in the navigators. Presumably the special connection of the navigators with the gods helps to preserve discipline aboard ship."

"Serving as a charter for this institutional kind of fishing [KS: turu-catching flying fish by torchlight] is a myth which attributes its origin to Maur, leader and orator of ancient times, and ancestral holder of the second chiefly title, which decends [sic] in the SauvelārIk clan. The myth as told to me follows:

Maur went to Woleai, took a wife there, and had a son, who lived on the islet Falāris, while Maur and his wife lived on one of the other islands. One day Maur went over to Falāris to see his son, taking with him his sleeping mat and wooden pillow (ulul), which he prized highly.

When he returned, at nightfall, and opened out the sleeping-mat, he was much disturbed to find that the wooden pillow was not in it. It could not be found in the house, or anywhere about, so he decided that it must have been lost overboard on the journey from Falāris. Taking a supply of torches, he shoved off again in his canoe to search for the pillow.

Attracted by the light of the torch, flying-fish gathered about the boat, thick as mosquitoes. Some of them flew against the sail and fell [83K] into the canoe. Maur attached a dip-net to a long pole and scooped out many of the fish that were swarming in the water about the canoe. When he came back, his pillow had been found; and he brought in a notable catch of fish.

'How did you get them? ' he was asked.

'Let all the people assemble', he replied, 'and I will teach them'.

When the people gathered around, he showed them how to make the dip-nets and attach a long handle to them, and how to prepare coconut-leaf torches. And they went out and caught many flying-fish.

When Maur came back to his home on Ifalik he brought with him the knowledge of this new kind of fishing. From Ifalik and Woleai it spread to other islands; to Faraulep, and Aurupik (Eaurupik), and Sorol, and Yap. The lore even reached distant Nauru. But to this day many islands have not mastered it. Nearby Lanotrek is one of them. Satawan, Puluwat, and many others, still do not know how to catch flying-fish by torchlight.

Sarfert collected a version of this myth, somewhat less detailed and with minor variations, but in essentials the same as the one just given."

1: Burrows--151-152 (1947-48) Woleaians ~2
539 Ifalik

"From time immemorial the people of Ifalik have acknowledged the rule of some outside power. Their traditions name as the earliest of these foreign overlords two lines of chiefs in Gagil district on Yap. One of their legends traces this relationship back to the first settlement of the island. What little ethnological comparison can be made here suggests other possibilities; but no such doubt seems to exist in native minds. The legend follows, as dictated to me by one of the five chiefs, in conference with the others. Tom acted as interpreter. In rewording his account, I have tried to keep as close to it as possible without too much violence to English idiom.

First Settlement of Ifalik

Long, long ago, a chief of Garpar (Gatschapar) village, in Gagil district, Yap, ordered some of his people to go out and colonize the outer islands to the east. He himself remained in Yap.

In charge of the expedition was a man named Tatar, who was accompanied by his sister, Iau. They went first to Mogmog on Ulithi; then to Wetegau (Utagal?) in Woleai, then to Ifalik and the other islands--Faraulep, Elato, Lamotrek, Satawal, and so on to Puluwat and Truk and 'all Caroline place.' The chain of command, ever since, is from Yap to Mogmog, from Mogmog to Wetegau, Wetegau to Ifalik, from Ifalik to the other islands.

[152] On Ifalik Tatar left one man and one woman from each of the eight clans. The two from each clan were brother and sister. Their names were:

From Kovalū clan: Maraige and his sister Lemaregara.

From SauvelārIk clan: Alovar and his sister Eilapikel.

From Mangaulevār clan: Trigabwa and his sister Ungusaren, sometimes known as Litamata.

From Rapevelē clan: Uelisogo and his sister Iau.

From Sauwèl clan: Temou and his sister Narom.

From Bwèl clan: Miatomwar and his sister Ilametoi.

From Kailangailuk clan: Uetiu and his sister Lemangeverau.

From Kailangaluelea clan: Marogerag and his sister Ilimëng.

The descendants of these women, who married the men from other clans, make up the membership of the clans today."

1: Burrows--154-157 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 539 Ifalik 1.6

"Conquest of Nearby Islands

In contrast to the acknowledged subordination to Yap is a series of legends that tell of conquest of the atolls nearest to Ifalik, extermination of the early inhabitants, and repopulation by colonists from Ifalik. These make Ifalik the mother country of all these atolls, as far as their present population is concerned. These legends follow, as told by the five chiefs, with Tom for interpreter.

Woleai

Maur, an ancient chief of SauvelārIk clan on Ifalik, went to Woleai, took there a wife named Ilimĕng, and had by her a son, Legagilewau. Some of the men of Woleai, jealous because of his winning the woman, attacked him, beat him about the head and body, and left him for dead.

In the night the woman Ilimĕng went out of the house to urinate. She did not see the fallen body of Maur, and urinated on him. The urine so stung his wounds that he returned to consciousness.

Maur tied up his wounded head with a bit of rope. At daybreak he swam out on a piece of driftwood, spent the day at sea, and came in again at night. He slept in his house, and left again early in the morning. [155] He took a piece of coconut leaf and tied it about the wrist of his son, Legagilewau.

Finally Maur went out through the pass on his bit of driftwood. One man saw him and

cried out 'Maur is still alive!' But the Woleai people laughed. 'No, Maur is dead!' There was much talk about sending a canoe out to see, but they did not find him.

Maur swam on his driftwood all the way to Ifaliḳ, and landed on the little uninhabited island of Ellā. A canoe went by and he hailed it. He told the boatman that he was Maur, and that the people of Woleai had tried to kill him.

The man went to the men's house, Katēlū, and spread the news. Another canoe was sent to Ellā to bring Maur to Katēlū. He summoned all the people.

When all the men of Ifalik were gathered together before him, he told them how the Woleai people had fallen upon him and left him for dead. 'I will not waste words', he said. 'I will take off my loin cloth, and if my penis points to Woleai, that will be a sign to you to go there and kill all the people.'

He took off his loin cloth, and his penis pointed to Woleai. 'Go kill all the people', he shouted, 'men, women, and children. Only spare the woman Ilimëng, and the boy who has a strip of coconut leaf tied around his wrist.'

The men of Ifalik went to work and made spears (kowai), many spears for each man. They went to Woleai in many canoes--two hundred, three hundred. In Woleai they went first to Falālap, then to Mariong, then to Traulap, then to Paleau, then to Raur. Everywhere they attacked the Woleai people and speared them--women, children, and all. But they spared the woman Ilimëng and the boy Legagilewaú, who had the strip of coconut leaf tied about his wrist.

Next the Ifalik warriors went to Wetegau. All the people fled and swam over to Falālus. Twice the Ifalik men tried to make a landing there, but twice they were turned back by the defenders.

Then the Ifalik people took a log, set up a coconut leaf on it like a sail, and shoved it out to sea from Wetegau. The Woleai people thought it was an Ifalik canoe setting out for home, and decided that all the Ifalik people had gone back.

Two Woleai canoes came back to Wetegau. The Ifalik men had hidden their canoes in the bush and covered them with leaves.

A Woleai man climbed a breadfruit tree, plucked a fruit, and said, 'The Ifalik men are very strong, but now they are gone. We won't be bothered with them any more.'

At this the Ifalik men came out of hiding, with a 'What's that you say? We'll see about that!' The Woleai men fled into the water, but were speared there. [156]

The Ifalik men caught the Woleai men during a bonito drive, attacked and killed them. Then they went on to Falālus and killed the women and children, too.

The canoes returned to Ifalik, leaving only Ilimëng and her boy alive on Woleai. They had a great feast at home, and then assembled again at Katélū.

Maur told them it would be too bad to have no people on Woleai. Then he sent people from Ifalik to settle in Woleai:

One man and his sister from the clan Kovalū
One man and his sister from the clan SauvelārIk

One man and his sister from the clan Mangaulevār
One man and his sister from the clan Rapevelū
One man and his sister from the clan Sauwēl
One man and his sister from the clan Bwēl
One man and his sister from the clan Kailangailuk
One man and his sister from the clan Kailangaluelea

Each of the men became a chief in Woleai. Little boys went too, with the women, their mothers. These people, with Maur's wife and son, repopulated Woleai.

So now when Ifalik men go to Woleai, there is no more fighting. It is as if the two islands were all one place. People from either island visit the other, do not have to ask for food, but live as if they were at home.

This version itself includes two accounts of how the Woleai men were killed, told one after the other with no attempt to reconcile them; one about an ambush on land, the other about a surprise attack during a bonito drive. The two could be reconciled, of course, by attributing one of them to one islet on Woleai, the other to another. But the incident of a surprise attack while the men were fishing appears also in two versions of the legend about Faraulep. One of them, told to me on Ifalik, will be given shortly (p. 160-1). The other was told on Faraulep to Hambruch, during the German expedition. The suggestion is that this incident may have been transferred from the legend about

Faraulep to that about Woleai.

A version of this legend recorded by Sarfert differs in several details from the one just given. The beginning is similar, except that the incident of the woman urinating on his unconscious body is not included. Nor are the names of the woman and the son she bore to Maur, there written as 'Modj'.

After the attack on him, Maur is said to have returned to Ifalik in his canoe instead of by swimming with a piece of driftwood. But in another of Sarfert's stories, which attributes to 'Modj' the first settlement of Ifalik, he is said to have come there with his wife on a raft.

The incident of Maur's penis pointing toward Woleai does not occur in Sarfert's version.

The order of islets on Woleai visited by the Ifalik expedition is the same in Sarfert's version and in mine, except that his list omits [157] two of those mentioned in the one told to me:

German Version, 1909	CIMA Version, 1947	Name on H.O. Chart
'Hauptinsel'	Falalap	Woleai (?)
----------	Mariong	Mariaon
----------	Traulap	Tagaulap
Bäliau	Paleau	Paliau

German Version, 1909	CIMA Version, 1947	Name on H.O. Chart
Raur	Raūr	Raur

Sarfert's version adds one detail not told to me: that the people of Ifalik, in moving from islet to islet on Woleai, first ate their unwilling hosts out of house and home, and did not close in for the kill until they had them weakened by starvation.

A final detail omitted in Sarfert's version is the list of clans (all of those now on Ifalik) represented in the later expedition that repopulated Woleai.

A third version was collected by Hambruch on Faraulep. It differs particularly in the beginning. The king of Ifalik, Mois, visits Woleai and there repeatedly rapes a woman while her husband is out fishing. This makes him the first agressor, and justifies the attack on him. He is beaten and left for dead. Toward morning he is revived, by rain. He takes a piece of timber from the bush and with it swims to Ifalik. The summons to war, with the incident of the penis pointing toward Woleai, agree with the version told to me. The ending follows, in my translation:

'Then the people made many spears, sailed to Woleai in countless canoes, and slew everyone, even the young girls.'

No mention is made of a son born to the Woleai woman. The list of islands, that of clans, and various other details, are omitted."

"Lamotrek

A similar legend about Lamotrek was dictated by the chiefs and translated by Tom. Here I have retained a few bits of his peculiar English.

Long, long ago, the people of Lamotrek used to kill the Ifalik people whenever a canoe from Ifalik put in there. One Ifalik canoe that went there had aboard, besides the crew of Ifalik men, one Tungā, a being in the form of a man but not human. The Lamotrek people killed all the Ifalik men but did not fight with Tungā.

In Ifalik, when the canoe did not return from Lamotrek, the people wondered what had become of it. Maur, their chief, summoned all the people to the men's house, Katēlū. He ordered a canoe to be fitted out to go look for the lost vessel.

'Who among us shall go?' asked the Ifalik men. [158]

Maur said: 'Suppose one man savvy captain, all right, go'.

So a man named Wĕtiei, a very savvy captain, built him a canoe, got together a crew, and sailed to Lamotrek.

'Where is that canoe from Ifalik that sailed here?'

The Lamotrek people said 'Canoe from Ifalik no stop here. He go to Truk.' That was a lie.

Wĕtiei went on to Truk to look for the Ifalik canoe. The Lamotrek people, in an attempt to cover up their lie, sent Tungā on to Truk in a Lamotrek canoe. When the Ifalik canoe got to Truk, the Lamotrek canoe was lying offshore but had left some of its

men on Truk.

The Ifalik canoe beached at Truk, and the men came ashore and asked 'What about that Ifalik canoe that came here?' The Lamotrek men said 'We don't know anything about it.' That was a lie.

One of the Ifalik men saw a Lamotrek man take some food and put out to sea with it. The Lamotrek men had left Tungā as a captive aboard their canoe. So the Ifalik man said he was going to bathe in the sea. Once in, he swam out to the Lamotrek canoe and called out 'Any Ifalik men aboard?'

Tungā called back 'Yes! Me!'

So the Ifalik man swam up close, and said 'Don't say anything to the others. Tomorrow night our Ifalik canoe will come over close to this one. You dive overboard and swim over to us.'

This was done next night as planned, so Tungā was once more aboard an Ifalik canoe.

They asked him what had become of the men from the canoe that took him from Ifalik to Lamotrek. He told them the truth, that the Lamotrek people had killed them all.

So Wëtiei's canoe went back to Ifalik. There Tungā told Maur his story. So Maur knew that the Lamotrek people had killed his men in the first canoe.

Maur called all the people together at the men's house, Katēlū. He told them to make ready, for they were going to make war on Lamotrek. So the Ifalik men went to work and fashioned spears--one man 20, another man 30, another man 40--and put them in

canoes. Then they set sail for Lamotrek.

They came first to Elato, but the Elato people, when they saw the Ifalik canoe coming, were afraid, got into their canoes, and fled to Lamotrek. So when the Ifalik canoe came ashore, there was nobody there. They stopped in Elato three days. ('Want to chow.') Then on to Lamotrek.

At Lamotrek one big island is inhabited, two small ones uninhabited. The Ifalik invaders landed on the two small islands. One day they attempted a landing on the main island, but were repulsed. Twice they tried, and twice they failed. The Lamotrek people were too strong.

A great warrior of Ifalik, named Mailias, had been visiting on Woleai at the time the Ifalik fleet set out for Lamotrek. He came back to find all the Ifalik canoes gone. [159]

'Where are all the men?' he asked.

He was told they had gone to avenge the death of the Ifalik canoemen at Lamotrek. So he got in his canoe and followed them. Arrived at Lamotrek, he asked for a report on the situation. He was told how things stood--that two landings had been attempted, but both had failed.

'Leave it to me', said Mailias. He told the men to gather bundles of dried banana leaf and put them in the canoes. They filled their canoes with leaves, then, in mid-afternoon, shoved off once more to assault the main island. It was mid-afternoon, and the wind was at their backs, from the west.

The Ifalik forces divided into two parties. One of them made the same kind of frontal attack as before. But when they came near shore, they set fire to their bundles of leaves. A great cloud of smoke arose. The wind carried it ashore, and blinded the Lamotrek warriors.

Under cover of this attack, the other party from Ifalik went around to the other side of the island, and landed there.

The Lamotrek men fought bravely against the party that had landed behind a smoke screen. But they were at such a disadvantage, with the smoke in their eyes, that they were driven back, and at last fled into the bush. Here the other Ifalik party was lying in wait. They fell upon the demoralized defenders and killed every last one of them; then went on into the houses, killing, killing, until not a man, woman or child was left alive in Lamotrek.

So the fleet returned to Ifalik, and repeated to Maur that Lamotrek had been depopulated, and the slaughter of the Ifalik canoemen avenged.

First the returning warriors were welcomed with a big feast. Then Maur assembled them at the men's house, Katēlū. He told them it would not be good for Lamotrek to remain without people. He ordered each clan to send one man and his sister. All these could take their families along if they cared to.

So Lamotrek was laid waste and then repopulated from Ifalik. Ever since, it has been as if Lamotrek and Ifalik were all one place. In Ifalik, Lamotrek people are just the

same as Ifalik people. In Lamotrek, Ifalik people are given food without having to ask for it. They all belong to the same clans.

So that is the story of how 'Ifalik man, he kill Lamotrek man. Ifalik more high.'

A short song or remnant of a song commemorates this battle. For all its brevity, it is noteworthy as the only one among the 228 song texts collected which deals with legendary (as distinguished from mythical) material; and the only one which deals with war. Although this may be accidental, it seems to suggest the importance of this particular legend. The chiefs dictated the text, and Tomi translated it. This translation, edited into smoother English, follows: [160]

Coming up from behind on the fugitives
As they fled from the lagoon shore,
We will close in from both sides
At the Pu-el-Ifalū.

Pu-el-Ifalū is said to be the name of a place in the interior of Lamotrek, where the two parties of Ifalik men closed in on the defenders of Lamotrek and finished them off. (It did not occur to me at the time to ask whether Pu-el-Ifalū would be in ordinary language Bwèl Ifalòk, Ifalik taro swamp.)

The German monograph on Lamotrek contains no legend like this--indeed, no legends at all, though it has several myths.

During my few hours on shore at Lamotrek I asked about this story, expecting a

denial or variant version. But they confirmed it. Although, lacking an interpreter, I did not manage to check all details, they agreed that Mailias was leader of the invading party, and added that he was of Kovalū clan."

"Faraulep, too, was repopulated from Ifalik. In this case, though, according to the Ifalik legend, it was not necessary for Ifalik warriors to invade the island and massacre the inhabitants. They had attended to that themselves, and Ifalik men had only to kill a lone survivor.

There are two inhabited islands at Faraulep, and one uninhabited. At one time, there were no people left on the whole atoll. If asked why that was, a Faraulep man will say that men from another island came fighting, and killed the Faraulep people. That is a lie.

What really happened is this. One night a party from one of the inhabited islands at Faraulep went out to fish with torches. The men from the other islands made a surprise attack upon them and killed them. They went back home thinking they had killed all the people of the other [161] island.

But one man remained, a man named Nagelimwara. He had hidden himself under a fishing net, and so escaped. When the invaders had gone, he came out again. There were no more people. So he took a small canoe and went out fishing. He found plenty of fish on top of a coral head that extended up into shallow water.

Then he went back to the island still inhabited, and told the chief he had better send out men to catch the plentiful fish he had found. He would show them the place. So all the men went out with him.

When they got to the place where the coral head stuck up into shallow water, they saw

that the fish were indeed plentiful. Nagelimwara told them all to jump overboard to catch them. So everybody went overboard except himself. He had a short stick with him. Every head that showed above the surface he would hit with his stick. Thus he killed all the men from that island, except the chief, who had remained behind.

Then Nagelimwara took some fish, and went ashore. He called to the chief to come get his share. The chief came, and when he had taken some fish, Nagelimwara hit him with his stick and killed him. Then he went on into the houses and killed the women and the boys and the girls.

So it was the Faraulep people themselves who put an end to the population on that island. 'All Farfulep men 'e fight.'

In the course of time a canoe from Ifalik visited the island, and found that there were no more people there except the one man. The Ifalik men killed him. Then they went back to Ifalik to get some Ifalik people and put them on Faraulep, and repopulate the island, as they had done with the others. So they sent women and men from every clan. And ever since then, a Faraulep man has been all the same as an Ifalik man.

After finishing this tale, Tom raised his face and eyes skyward, to indicate an immense lapse of time, and said

'Be - fore, be - fore. Not now.'

After a few minutes, he repeated this, adding 'Ifalik man not kill 'im that Faraulep man.' There were two canoe-loads of men from Faraulep visiting on Ifalik at the time.

Evidently Tom wanted to forestall any worry on my part about the Ifalik people killing them, by relegating all such unpleasantness to the remote past."

2: Damm et al. --202-207 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-11
116, 539 Faraulep

The deeds of Olufáth

Taiauǒx was to have a child by Lugéileń. She lived on an island (the name is not known) where the woman's body was cut open at birth... Lugēileń said to her: "When the pains start, sigh deeply, pull in the upper portion of the stomach, and then the child will appear!" When she reached this point, Olufāth emerged from her head (bregma). Shortly after he was born, he ran to a palm tree. The mother said: "Wait; you are all covered with blood, let me wash you!" "Oh, I can wash myself!" And he washed the blood off on the palm trunks, which have been red ever since. He grew quickly. Taiauǒx said: "Come, I will cut off your umbilical cord!" "Oh, I can do that." And he cut it off. He remained on the earth, and played with the other children. But one day there was a quarrel. Then the children said: "Go to your father!" "I do not have one; alas, he is in the heavens!" And Olufāth ran to his mother. When he began to ask questions about his father, she complained and did not tell him anything.

One night Olufāth was thirsty. The other boys had opened coconuts themselves, and drunk the milk from them, but Olufáth had not; his father had bidden Taiauǒx to pour the contents of the nut into a vessel, and to have him drink from that. But now Olufáth cracked a nut himself, and raised it to his lips; then he saw his father. "I want to go to my father! How can I go to him, tell me!" "You shall go to him very soon", said the mother. And Lugeiléń said to Taiauǒx: "If my son wants to come to me, light a fire,

and put wood on it until it smokes." Taiauóx obeyed. Olufáth seated himself on the smoke, and was born up to the heavens. As he arrived, he saw a group of boys who were playing with little boats. "Come and lend me a canoe!" "Who does he think he is? Whence does this strange boy come? We are not going to give him our canoes." And they went on playing. Only one boy let Olufáth play with his boat. Olufáth amused himself with it, then gave it back to the boy and went on his way. But the boats that belonged to the other boys sailed away, and only the one remained.

Elsewhere some boys were playing with sharks, which were still tame at that time. "Let me play too, and lend me a fish!" "Who is he? Where does this boy come from?" And they paid no further attention to him; but one boy [203] loaned Olufáth a fish. After he had played with it, he returned it. Then when the other boys wanted to play with their fish again, they found that the sharks had big teeth; and all of the boys were bitten save only the one. This same episode occurred with the small nex fish (gar?).

When Olufáth climbed a mountain, he saw some men cutting palm leaves to make a new roof for Eluelap's house. "Let me have the knife; I want to cut leaves too!" "Nonsense! Who knows the Boy?" Only one man gave him the knife. Olufáth cut some palm fronds with it. Then night fell. When the men wanted to work the next morning, their hands stuck to the tools, while others, who grabbed hold of the palm trunks or the fronds could not let go of them. And so it was for all of them, save only the one.

A path led past the palm tree; Olufáth urinated on it, and then crouched in the thicket. Lugeilḗń appeared in a little while. He walked in the puddle, made a big fuss, but did not know who had caused it. Olufáth sat in the bushes, and made a sound like a bird: "Hi, hi!" Lugeilḗń went on his way, and he came to the place where the workmen were stuck fast to the trees. Then he knew that Olufáth had come, he was glad, and he set the men free. He entered the big house, and Olufāth came, but not as a man; he looked much more like the bird golṵ́ń. Lugeilḗń said: "Come"! But Olufāth ran away. Then Lugeilḗń cried: "Go away!" And then Olufáth approached. And now he did not look like a bird, but he lay in front of his father like a pile of mud. "Come out!" said Lugeilḗń, and then Olufāth appeared in human form.

The people in the large house said: "One beam has decayed; tomorrow we shall go to get another." Then they all went to sleep, and Olufāth also. When the sun rose, the men hastened into the thicket, cut a post, brought it into the house, and wanted to put it in the place of the soft one. But first they had to dig a hole. They told Olufáth about it. He took the nerve of a palm leaf and a small leaf, stuck them in his loin girdle, and then made the hole. He had scarcely finished it when the men took the post, and rammed it through his body into the hole. They thought that he must be dead now, but such was not the case. When it was night, he took the coconut nerve, hollowed out the post with it, and climbed up through it. He sat down on the ridge pole, and watched how the others ate coconuts and told each other about his death. Then he took the one little piece of

coconut leaf, which he had stuck into his belt on the previous day before he dug the hole; he enchanted it, and out of the little piece of leaf came a nut, which grew larger all the time. He took it and threw it in the midst of the assembly. "See, I am not dead at all!" Then they saw that Olufáth was sitting up on the ridge pole. Later the men in the big house made a fish weir. It was still not completed, for in the interior parts of it had to be drawn together; Olufáth was supposed to do this. He got some wood out of the thicket, put a plant in his mouth [204] and crawled into the weir. The men hastily pulled it up, put it on a canoe, and took it out beyond the reef. Here they threw the weir into deep water, and now they believed that Olufáth was finally dead. But the plant which he held in his mouth, kept him up on top; and he even succeeded in getting out of the weir; then he caught a number of fish, and stuck them inside the basket. He made himself look like a man suffering from ringworm, and then he reached land before the men who had wanted to kill him. And the weir lay full of fish on the beach. Then Lugeilén came, and so the two were together in the big house when the others arrived. When they entered, they said that the man was Lugeilén. "No, it does not look like him. Could it be Olufáth?" "But he lies in the deep water beyond the reef." When they came into the house, they found that it was indeed Olufáth. And he told them about the weir, which was full of fish on the shore. The men went to fetch it at once, and found that it was completely full. Olufáth took a fish and went to the Thunder's house; he took his wife,

gave her the fish, and slept with her. Then the Thunder came and saw what Olufáth had done. When he tried to catch the culprit, Olufáth ran into the big house. The same thing occurred with the wives of the Lightning and the man Poís; the husbands always discovered that they had been deceived, but they never could catch the agile Olufáth. However, Olufáth almost came to grief with the last one. Poís was a very strong man, and Olufáth was afraid. So he took a stone, and threw it into Poís' eye before he fled to the big house. Then he got another fish, and ran with it to Féla's house. It happened that Féla was in the thicket, and so Olufáth treated his wife as he had the others. But the husband returned just as he was getting ready to leave. Olufáth ran immediately, because Féla had a fish line. He caught Olufáth's ear with the hook, pulled him back, and whipped him until he was nearly dead. Féla also stuck both of his eyes out, and buried them beside his house.

Then Lugeilén came and looked for his son. He smelled the decay, and found that Olufáth was dead. He made a spell quickly, and Olufáth came back to life. Now he was supposed to go with Lugeilén, but he did not want to leave until he had killed Féla. So he entered the house, slew him, knocked his teeth out, and threw them into the sea. Then he joined his parents in the heavens; he loves dancing and singing, and directs them on the squares in the heavens and on the earth.

Lugeilén

Two women, Wavú and Pugelú, lived on the earth. Each one had a daughter, and each daughter had an orange tree (these were introduced by Europeans). But they were not alike, for one bore better fruit than the other. Then one maiden stole an orange from the other [205]. The sister noticed it, and whipped the culprit. Finally they both began to weave a clothing mat at dawn. But one of them stopped at noon, for the other, the weaker woman, had used magic charms, and had completed her task.

Then Nisarela came; he seized the one who had completed her mat and took her up to the heavens. A little king, Mesenienótu, lived in the eastern part of the heavens, and he married this woman. In a little while, she bore a son, but he did not have a name; he was a good and likeable child. Eluelap was fond of him, took him, and called him Lugeilén. He made him a great king in the heavens.

How Nimegei Gave Men the Coconut

In olden days there were palms, but no nuts. Then Eluelap had a daughter, Nimegei. She was pregnant, but she did not give birth to a child; a coconut appeared instead. She filled it with earth, and let it alone. After ten days it sprouted. Nimegei did not know what it was. The thing grew quickly, and became a palm tree which had many, many coconuts. Then Eluelap said to four men: "See to it that nobody steals the nuts from the tree, or carries away the fallen ones!" But Lugeilén took one secretly, carried it to

Mogemog, and planted it there. It grew rapidly, and bore a fine crop of nuts. Then all the people sailed to Mogemog in their canoes, and got coconuts. And this is the way that the coconut came to the islands.

The Origin of Thelắn and His Brothers.

Eluelắp had three more sons, Thelắn and Alülemắth. They were carpenters. Thelắn went to the colored people, and Alülemắth to the whites, and taught them how to build canoes. Thelắn built a boat in Mắlip on Ponape; and the art spread from there to the west; he also constructed houses, but his mind was always set on practical matters. Alülemắth went to the white men, taught them sciences, showed them how to make ships, and made them clever.

According to another version: two men, Thelắn and Themarứx, are the brothers of Alülemắth. The first two stay with the natives, and Alülemắth with the whites. The three are not the real children of Eluelắp; they really sprang from the woman Legobứ and the man Nigoburonialüắl, and both of them came from the woman Eôitsắn. The couple had the three sons whom I have named; they were very clever, and Eluelắp loved them so much that he adopted them and gave them their names. Another son (of this couple?) is Palứelap, who has a son Elülứe. [206]

Eluelắp spoke to his sister Eôitsắn: "Create men!" Eôitsắn communicated this order to Legobứ. She obeyed, but she had nothing to eat. When she woke up the next morning,

she found a great deal of food, because she had dreamed about it. But if she dreamed that she did not have anything, nothing was provided in the morning. Eluelap always let her dream about what she needed to live. Themarux built the house, Thelan the canoe. Paluelap is the man who points the way on trips, and it is he who invented the sail. His son Elulue helps him.

The Women Nage.

Two friends dwelt in Ifaluk: Nageibioru (1) and Nageirifan (2). Once when they came to Ifaluk, they began to quarrel. Then Nage 2 took a coconut husk, filled it with sand, and went out to sea. She scattered the sand in the water, and an island appeared; it was Faiieu. There were no palms on it, just low underbrush, and so nobody could live on it. This woman had a son, Fagem e tau, and a daughter Lewauuot, but she died. When the son had grown up, he said to his mother: "Make me a canoe!" The mother made a toy boat for him. "If this canoe ever sails away from you, climb on to it!" Later the boat sailed off, so the lad swam after it, and got into the craft. It carried him to Ifaluk. He saw a number of boys there, and he taught them how to build toy boats. Nage 1 had stayed in Ifaluk. One day a boy said: "Where does this boy come from, and why have we not seen him before?" Nage 1 heard this. Since Fagem e tau looked very like his mother, she asked him whence he had come. He told her, and then spoke about his mother. Then Nage 1 took him in her house, and he dwelt with her.

Ponijoū

Ponijoū was a man who died a short time ago. During his lifetime he was renowned on account of his fish magic, which was particularly effective for flying fish. Since he died nobody knows the charm, and so the natives built a small spirit house for him. When Sauerū is asleep, Ponijoū appears to him occasionally, and tells him that it is a propitious moment for the men to go fishing. If the expedition is not successful, the fisherman goes to Ponijoū's house, and leaves a present. Ponijoū orders and prohibits the fishing expeditions, but the chief is always the intermediary.

How Fire Came to Men.

Eluelāp made fire, and gave it to Olufāth, who hid it in a bamboo, and then brought it to men on earth. He showed them how you can bore a fire with the help of pieces of wood. [207]

How Lugeilēn Taught Men Coitus.

In olden days women did not have any genital organs, and men knew nothing about sexual intercourse; they could only eat and drink. Then Eluelāp sent Lugeilēn down to earth, and he came to the man Niparāra, and to the woman Temoriemōn; he said to the latter: "Do you not have a husband?" The woman replied: "Why yes!" "Well, where is he?" "He is fishing." "Is that all you know? Don't you know anything else?" As he spoke these words, Lugeilēn removed the woman's clothing mat, and he saw that she

did not have any organs. So he stuck two fingers inside, and formed her genitals. Then he used her and finally he departed. Then the husband came home and said: "I have brought some fish, go and fasten the canoe!" "Oh, never mind the boat!" And the canoe remained lying half way up the beach. The woman continued: "I will show you something fine, that I have just learned. I did not know it, and nobody here knows about it. Come, get on top of me!" He obeyed, but his organ refused to stiffen, so she rubbed the penis and so they had intercourse. And all the people came and watched this process. Then the wife said: "Look after your canoe!" "Oh, never mind the canoe, this is nice!" And so they lay together the whole day.

The Bird Bath.

Once upon a time, there was a bird called Báth which always made a great deal of noise with his call "Bri-bri". When you looked at him in the air, he seemed sometimes to be white, but again he was red or black. All the people were very afraid of him, because many of the ones who saw him, died. Then the survivors complained to Olufáth. So he took a young báth bird, put him on the earth, and said that he should remain small, and not make such a noise. When the bird sang on earth, he only managed to make sounds like "kikeriki" and "gakgak". He is supposed to have been a very large bird. (Could they be talking about the hen?) On one occasion two Yap natives noticed

it while they were fishing. They made a charm to catch it, but the bird attacked one of them, and killed him; and he wounded the other. The bird is said to have traveled to Palau, and to have died there.

4: Krämer--285-291 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-B
116, 539 Woleai

The Story of the Sons of Paluelap, Rongerik, Rongelap, Aluluei and Faravai.

Paluelap of Polap had two sons, Rongedjik and Rongelap. The latter took little notice of his father. Rongedjik, the younger, always gave part of the food that he was given or that he was given on Truk and other islands to his father, on the other hand, and for that reason his father loved him and introduced him to the secrets of navigation. When Rongelap heard and saw this, he was angry and complained and beat his father and his father asked him why he was behaving as he did, and Rongelap asked: "Why don't you pass your knowledge on to me?" And the old man answered: "What reason would I have for doing it?" Rongelap replied: "But you happen to be my father!" "That is true," said Paluelap, "but you do not take care of me like your brother, and because he has been good to me he has learned everything." But to pacify his son, he started to instruct him, too, but not very thoroughly. When Rongelap went out on a voyage he missed his destination. He came to a large coconut palm bearing fruit, which stood in the middle of the ocean, and he told a man to climb the tree and to throw the nuts to him into the boat which was waiting below. But a large black lizard sat on one of the nuts that were thrown down; it seized Rongelap and bit him in half and he toppled into the ocean.

When Rongelap did not return Paluelap said to Rongedjik: "Your brother has not returned; go and look for him at the palm tree!" Rongedjik quickly sailed to the spot and he found the crew of the canoe of Rongelap and he asked them: " Where is Rongelap?"

Their answer was: "He lies in the salt water!" and they told his brother about the happenings. And Rongedjik practiced some magic which his father had taught him, and thus he found the two parts of the body of his brother and he put them together. When he had returned to life, Rongedjik asked him what he had done and Rongelap answered: "I have slept."

Rongedjik had more questions: "What? Didn't you lie in the water? Why did you try to pick the nuts?" Rongelap answered: "We were hungry!" Thereupon Rongedjik brought the nuts and they ate.

When they had finished their meal, Rongelap wanted to leave and started on his course. His brother called to him: "Whence are you sailing? The course which you are steering does not take you to any land." Rongelap did not pay any attention to the words of his brother [286] and sailed off. After a long voyage he found a man called Sauperon who was standing on a reef and fishing. Rongelap asked him for some fish but he refused to give him any. Rongelap flew into a rage: "If you don't give me any I shall kill you." And the fisherman seized him and drowned him. Rongedjik sailed after him and asked for his brother. He was pointed out as his body drifted in the water. Rongedjik asked the dead man: "What are you doing?" And the body answered: "I am sleeping." "No," he called, "you are dead." And he made magic once more and Rongelap revived.

And again they took a meal together. And Rongelap wanted to sail away. His brother

warned him: "You will not find any land and you will lose your life once more!" But he did not heed this renewed warning and left and Rongedjik followed him to protect him.

On his way, Rongelap saw a large taro and he tried to pick it. But the plant dived down into the water like a fish. Rongedjik watched and he jumped into the water and brought up the taro and the brothers ate it together.

Rongelap continued on his voyage. Next he came to the small island of Pianipaluelap where two old women lived in a hut. They were sisters of his father Paluelap and they were busy plaiting a sail for him. Rongelap had lost his sail and he wanted the new one, but the two women would not give it to him in spite of his threat to kill them. "It is better to die than to give the sail away," they called. When Rongelap lifted his arm for the fatal blow, it suddenly became paralyzed; Rongedjik found him thus and asked him what he was doing. And he told him of the happenings and said: "Don't you see that I am unable to deliver the blow?" And Rongedjik replied: "Do you really want to kill the sisters of your father?" "Yes, they are not good!" Then the younger brother asked the two old women for the sail and they gave it to him most willingly, and he handed it over to his brother.

The evil spirit of Rongelap was not yet broken. He sailed off once more and his younger brother followed him. Soon Rongelap ran out of food and water. When Rongelap was lamenting this fate, Rongedjik called: "What, don't you know the water of Paluelap?" There were great breakers around them but Rongedjik made his magic and brought water

up from the ocean although they were far from any land. He gave this brother a drink; the latter was by now overcome and the evil within him was conquered and he gave in and returned to Polap together with Rongedjik. Remorsefully he went before his father and from this time on he strove to treat him well.

At that time there was a kulung bird on Truk which devoured so many humans that almost all villages were wiped out. The bird also ate all taro, breadfruit and coconuts. From Truk it went to Poloat and acted in a similar manner and then it moved to Sog. [287] Sätowan, Namodjek, Ifaluk, Voleai, Aurupek, Feis, Mogemog, Sorol, Eap, Ngolu, and Bannoč. And on the way back it came to Polap.

Inesavo, the daughter of Paluelap, had been ordered by her father to receive all canoes coming from other islands and to take them to the village. When the Kulung came flying she said: "Come, you may have some food." "What," shouted the Kulung, "all the other places have not had enough food to fill my stomach and this small spot is to satisfy my appetite? Yours is mockery!" Inesavo took a taro and crushed it, put it into a coconut shell and poured expressed milk on it; then she cracked a young coconut and took both into the house where the Kulung sat. The Kulung laughed: "That is to be my food?" The girl answered: "Go ahead and eat, there will be enough." And the Kulung ate and drank and he could not finish it; more and more new food grew in the bowl. When his stomach was so full that he could not eat any more, he wanted to return to Truk.

Inesavo and Paluelap gave him more food to take with him on his flight--200 huge baskets filled with taro and two gigantic coconuts; all this they fastened under his wings or tied around his neck. The bird flew off completely satisfied and happy. But when it was over the open sea Paluelap made effective magic so that the wind died down, and the Kulung fell into the ocean and was devoured by sharks.

The wife of Paluelap was pregnant. He said to his sons Rongedjik and Rongelap: "The boy, Aluluei in the womb of my wife hears everything; when he is born he will soon sit around the house." And that is what happened. Aluluei had extraordinarily evil powers. When Paluelap took a meal he always gave food to his youngest son. His two older brothers hated him for this privilege, and favoritism which was obvious at all times. They constructed a large canoe but they did not supply it with outrigger booms. And their father asked: "Why did you not cut any outrigger booms?" The two sons answered: "Send us your men so that we shall be able to cut the two booms." Paluelap told the little Aluluei to go into the bush and to cut the booms. Ringelap first ordered the boy to climb a faliap tree. While he was working on top of the tree, the two brothers threw stones at him so that he fell off. And they "scratched" him and beat him until he died. When they had killed him they wrapped the body in coconut leaves, weighted the bundle with stones and dropped it into the ocean. Then they returned to their work.

Paluelap came and inquired about his youngest son, although he knew quite well what had happened. He went into the bush and made magic, and called Aluluei back in the

form of a spirit invisible to the others. As a protection against attacks, he set many eyes into his head* so that he was able to look in all directions and his eyes were like the stars on the firmament. Paluelap from now on suggested to him continuous theft and told him to carry off anything that he could get hold of, coconuts, taro, women, etc. [288] And Aluluei did as he was told. Soon Rongedjik and Rongelap came to their father and shouted: "who is it who takes all our belongings? Who is it?" Paluelap answered: "I don't know. But if you wish to find out make a canoe** with a hut on deck and set it

*That explains the janus head of the storm magic.

**A finished canoe had to have rigging and the father told the sons to get it ready. He showed them the sheet. When they asked for the name of the rope he said it was moel, because it means to scratch, and because they had scratched Aluluei. Similar words of vengeance were:

halyard	urur to snatch away
stay	tenegaj
luff stay	eangalap to fight a great deal
bail	gamat to leave underneath upon death
sail	eu rope around the neck upon drowning
rope	sos blood, ḑja.

And the two were so startled and frightened that they did not dare ask any more questions.

afloat; then he will come." The two brothers did so, and when Paluelap saw the canoe afloat, he sent men into the bush to call: "How beautiful is the canoe of Rongedjik and Rongelap." Aluluei soon heard their calls and in visible form went to the beach and looked at the boat which was indeed magnificent. He went on board and observed all details and then returned to the bush. When the two brothers noticed the man aboard their canoe, they told Paluelap about it. And the old man asked: "How many deck huts are there on the canoe?" Their answer was: "One." "Very well" the father went on, "you will have to build a second one." They did so, and when the second hut was finished and stood on deck, Paluelap once again sent people into the bush to proclaim the beauty of the boat. Aluluei heard it and thought: "That is good for me." He called 40 rats together and went aboard the canoe with them while Rongedjik and Rongelap sat on the beach and in amazement saw the boat set sail. They only saw one single man and could not understand how he alone was able to do such heavy work. "That must be our dead brother Aluluei," they said. When Aluluei went on board he took sand and pandanus along. When he had sailed out on the high seas, he dropped the sand and an island resulted. He took one of the huts on deck with him ashore to live in it and he planted the pandanus. He dwelled on his sand island, Pialaluluei, for a long, long time and lived there long after his two older brothers were dead.

In the meantine a fourth son, Faravai, was born to his father. He also was instructed in the art of navigation, of which Aluluei was now considered the god; and one day he set

out with five canoes to visit some of the outside islands. When he was on Truk, he and his four companions received gifts of food. The other four men took part of their fish and coconuts and laid them aside as a sacrificial offering to Aluluei, but Faravai put away only the skin of the fish and the coconut husks and covered them with taro leaves as his tribute to the god. Aluluei, who saw everything, noticed it and said: "All have given me good things, but Faravai has not had enough to give to me." [289]

When the five boats sailed homeward, to Polap a storm arose and shattered the canoe of Faravai. The other four reached their native islands, but Faravai was forced to try and see how far he could get on rafts. He arrived on Pialaluei. When Faravai stepped ashore, Aluluei sat with his back to him and said: "Ah, you are coming, Faravai?" The latter was surprised that the stranger who had never seen him should know him, and he asked him: "What is your name?" and Aluluei replied: "Don't you know me? How is it possible that you should not know me although I know you." Faravai spoke: "I don't know you!" and Aluluei: "What, you don't know me? I am Aluluei." And the questions and answers went on:

"What are you doing?"

"Nothing. Whence are you coming?" Faravai related his adventures.

Aluluei thereupon said: "Well. Come and twist some rope for me."

"I am hungry."

"I have nothing to eat. Look at my land. But here are taro-leaves and underneath them the skins of fish and coconut husks."

"That is not good food."

"What, that is not good food, although you yourself have given it to me; now go eat it yourself."

"But over there lie taro and fish and breadfruit."

"Yes, they were given to me by your four companions and they do not belong to you."

Faravai became very sad. Aluluei continued:

"Here is a bellik shell with water; you may drink it."

"Oh, that is nothing at all."

"Go ahead and dring it, it will be sufficient."

Faravai drank and drank and quenched his thirst. Then once more he started to complain of hunger and Aluluei finally said:

"Go to the water where there are fish. Catch them."

Faravai saw a karangab fish and he went and was easily able to catch it by hand and he took it ashore and lit a fire. Upon order of Aluluei he cut up the fish to fry it. First he removed the tail: thereupon the flesh disappeared from the legs of Aluluei; then he cut off the belly of the fish and the body of his brother vanished and the same happened to his intestines, the head, the back and the sides. As soon as he cut off any

part of the animal, the corresponding parts of Aluluei's body disappeared and when Faravai looked around he noticed a skeleton sitting next to him. And he shivered with fright.

"What is the matter with you?" asked Aluluei

"I am dying, I am dying."

"No, don't be afraid of me, I shall not eat you."

"Why do you do such evil?" [290]

"You have not treated me right. In the future consider the following: the tail belongs to me and the belly with the stomach, and the back and the eyes of the fish."

"All right, I shall remember and observe this."

Now Faravai did not feel like eating but Aluluei said:

"Do eat. When you get home always lay the mentioned parts aside as belonging to me. Not until you have eaten the others may you eat my share."

"That is fine. I shall now go home."

"All right."

"But I don't have a ship."

"Delouse me."

Faravai did so but became scared when he noticed the eyes hidden under the hair. He trembled:

"What is wrong with you?" Aluluei asked.

"You have eyes in your head and on your head."

"They do not matter, they are not eyes, but stars."

And he explained all their names to him, the stars of the east, the north, the west and the southland. Then he said:

"Now you can go."

He drew the outlines of a canoe in the sand and uttered a magic formula, and suddenly a beautiful canoe was afloat in the water. Faravai set out on his voyage to Polap, but his canoe broke on the way, because it was made of phantom sand. A shark swam towards him. And Faravai called: "Take me to Polap."

But the shark would not take him. Then there came a dolphin.

Faravai called once more: "Take me to Polap."

But the dolphin did not want to take him. Finally a turtle came as his saviour. She let him ride on her back and took him to Polap. When they arrived outside the reef she said: "Well now get off." But he begged her to take him a little closer to land. When they approached the beach, the turtle once more asked him to get off her back, but he wanted to ride a little further, and even when they stood on land he ordered her to take him up to his house. When he had finally arrived there he called his people and shouted: "Catch the turtle." And they caught, and killed and cooked her.

Faravai had two sons who were his confidants in all matters: they were Vorieng who married bad women, and Falus who married good women. Vorieng desired the wife of

Falus. He thought up a scheme to remove his brother. He invited him to sail with him to Truk to get mats, turmeric, red shell slabs, and breadfruit dough. Falus sailed with him and they were lucky in their purchases. When the canoe was on the return voyage and was once more approaching Polap, [291] Vorieng was astern steering while Falus was holding the sheet. Vorieng called to his brother that he should come aft and take over the steering job. When he came, Vorieng pushed him so that he fell overboard into the ocean. "Save me, save me, Vorieng!" he called, but Vorieng answered: "No, you shall die," and he left his brother behind. Vorieng reached Polap alone and told the people that Falus had lost his life. Then he married his brother's wife. But Falus swam and found a bamboo, and he crawled into it and thus drifted to Polap. His former wife happened to come down to the beach and Falus called to her: "Don't you know me?" 'What," she said, "you are not dead." Falus told her what had happened. Both went into the house, and Falus hid under the roof. Vorieng was in the large canoe-house, and told his wife to cook taro because others had already gone out fishing.

The wife cooked a large quantity of taro and took it into the living house. Falus came down from his hiding place under the roof; he climbed into a large wooden bowl from Truk and the woman covered him with the taro so that he could not be seen at all. Then she called to Vorieng that the taro was ready and that they could eat. When the fish were hauled in, Vorieng had the bowl brought into the canoe-house. Many people got

together for the fish meal. Vorieng touched the bowl to dish out the taro, and Falus bit his hands. When Vorieng suddenly saw his brother, whom he had believed murdered, he was so frightened that he died. Falus climbed out of the bowl and told the people of the evil deed of his brother. Then he distributed the food and was mindful of the shares of Aluluei, Paluelap and Vorieng. And all the people ate and rejoiced.

28: Spiro--66-69
116, 539

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-/0
Ifalik

"The following chapeng is the song sung at the ceremony that we witnessed in September, the two day affair. It is in the nature of an invocation. The text was collected by Dr. Burrows and the translation is his.

I

Nite-it is nite now.
Today when morning comes
the god Tilitc will talk to us all.
Hearken, people of high or low degree!
I was sent to listen to your talk.
I have come and found that all is well.
First I was sent down
to the chief of the nether world
to learn his bidding and ask his help.
He will look after you,
so will my son Tilital.

The coming of the god delights the people,
they gather to see the man he possessed.

First the god speaks from the housetop,
calls to the people to wake. [67]
They all rise from their mats when day is dawning,
when the sky is growing bright
Eager to hear what the god has to say.
All long to hear the words of the god.
When the sun is past the zenith
all the women gather flowers
Bring ritri flowers to the shrine.
If any fail in this they may sicken,
All will suffer unless they come.
Tilitc and Tilital.

Pelele and Laliaro did
not heed the god's words and fell sick;
He cured them by giving them new names.
He wants an end of all evil talk.

II

We are all weary waiting for the god.
'What nite is he going to come?
He has not yet appeared.
As they sing to him, the people grow afraid.

Tilitc and his son are like the wind.
When any of our people are lost at sea,
Rain or shine they go to find them,
Search the seas for the canoe.
If they do not find it in one direction they try another.
At last they find the castaways.

He comes down from Lengilialo
Back from his search comes the god.
The men want to sing for him;
All rejoice at his coming
Down from Lengilialo.

He tells the women to dance for him.
All the people rejoice together.

III

He leaves his home in the sky
To come to us here on earth,
Coming along the road of the gods.
He finds us obedient to his commands.
He sees a fire, hears someone singing to him in the nite.
His son Tilalo comes with him.

Listen all you people!
If you do not heed what the god says
Sauteti and Saurek will come after you!
The god comes to frighten them away.
When he appears they scurry off.
The god's sister, Leurulalo, asks him to help us.

'You have my word,' he told her.

IV

Our chief remembers well what the god said,
When he appeared before all the people. [68]
The chief praises Tilitc,
In words well pleasing to the god.
Praises him and divine family.
The chief thanks the god and bids him farewell.
Now we will experience happy days.

He roams over all the islands,
All the length of the Carolines.
He visits Truk and Yap
To see that people behave as they should.
He watches over our boys working (for the Japanese) at Yap.
And all the length of the Carolines,
He gazes about as through a telescope.

He can see everywhere.
He has not come back from his voyage.

He goes to visit Europe,
Goes all about that continent.
Long he looks about their [sic]
like a curious traveler
To see what they are doing, what the fighting is about.
Then he leaves that land and comes back to us.
'The war will soon be over now.
'The end of the fighting is near.
'Do not be afraid any more
'Soon the Americans will come.
'All you women and children who brought me flowers,
Fear no more.

V

The god is resting in Langiliolu
At his house Ngiligejap.

The people want to invoke him,
how many moons before he comes?
They come to his earthly house
All the people of this island,
Waiting to hear his word.
If he comes, he will summon them.
A woman brings flowers
To bedeck the rod on his shrine.
The long leafy branch of aro
is dipped and twirled in time to the song,
The aro that gives health.

The god came down from Langiliolu
To tell us to make medicine
So that nobody would be sick.
He said, 'Since you heed me, you will thrive this month.
All are healthy and wise while he is here.
They heed well his words.

The flower for the god is the warong
Tilitc give us your benediciton.
He goes to find a blessing for us,
Finds some gift to bring us.
Far and wide he roams in search of a blessing.
Some do not understand,
Do you know what a gift he will bring.
Whatever is good in distant lands he will bring us. [69]
He travels like a wind.
He goes to find all lost mariners.
He has little time to linger here.
He must travel about like a wind,
The wind that blows on lost sailors,
The wind that blows them home.
He watches over sailors far from home.

Like a great sea bird
He flies over the canoemen

Ramale and Tilvwemeau.

'Do you know where your course lies?
'You are going astray, you will drift off.'
They thank him for coming to save them,
Iletigi and Ilearo. (the women in the canoe with the men above)

The farewell is to Aluelap, Lugeiling, Wolphat, Solal and Tilitr.

Good-by now, good-morning my chief, good-morning my chief.
(addressed to Solal)
Good-by, oh my chief, who dwells in the heavens.
(addressed to Aluelpa)
Good-by, good-by,
I return, and the people depart, good-by, good-by, good-by.
(this spoken by Tilitr, who continues)
I am lonesome for my chief (Aluelpa), for he is my mentor,
my protector.
Depart. Your chief is weary, he has descended to the earth,

But no mortal has come.

(Tilior to Tilitr)
Descend, you descended to Ifaluk, and protect its people
and its chiefs, (Aluelap to Tilitr)
Protect them from the arms of the Americans and of the
Japanese,
Instruct your people to make flower garlands, and to
place them on your alter.

It is finished,
It is finished."

28: Spiro--71-72 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-3
116, 539 Ifalik

"The name of this song is Aluselitimes, and is traditional.

Sickness and devils: Depart, depart
Depart from this island of Ifaluk,
Depart.
Cease! all illness that comes to these shores.
Depart Maselepi and Tria. (Maselepi seems to be the common cold.
Do not enter, Nesuaregeruch, Tria is a slight illness that comes to
Oh you mighty devil. those who do not excuse themselves when
If you come, be you thwarted. they walk above those who are sitting.)
If you bring illness, may it
be turned away. (nesuaregeruch is a devil).
Depart Nesuaregeruch, Mesuanepelap. (Two devils)
May illness visit us not in the future.
If, you come, you will surely die.
Come not, you cough,
for if you come, the tarewa will devour you. (Tarewa is a big fish)
Oh you illness, come not directly, but be deflected from your
course, as a drunken man.
If you come, Times will rise, and you will be thrust aside.

Come not on top of our houses.
If the devil comes, he will surely stumble.
If illness comes, Times will surely protect us.
The mouth of Maselipik shall not open. (to eat people, or give them illness).
If illness comes, I hover over the men, and the illness will depart [72]
I turn to the gods, I sing their song, they will surely remove the illness.
Oh, wave, and remove the illness.
People will not die, they will not be cast into the ocean.

(When a man is ill, Arogeligar drives out the illness by waving a coconut leaf over him. The Times serves this function for the entire population).

The ill will not die. They will remain here as does the ground.
If illness comes, it cannot prevail.
If illness comes, my song will encircle me, and protect me.
(the song is like a magic circle, protecting those inside it)
If I take ill, the god will come to me.

Myriads of illnesses will not enter me.
Many illnesses will not prevail against me, for my song protects me.
If a man should fall sick, he shall not succumb.
The god will protect me.
He will protect me as a barricade against the illness.
Go! (says the god to the illness)
Illness will not see you.
Do not enter that man.
Do not enter. Do not enter.
You are not powerful.
You, you, you (to the devil)
enter not, enter not.
Enter and die. (The song of the times will kill the devil).
These people will not die, nor will they ascend to the heavens."

28: Spiro--72 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 755, 539 Ifalik

"The following day, after the times had been hung by the young men, the ceremony was held. This time it was not held at bwuter Tilitr, but near the small club-house in Falalap across the channel from Felarik. Coconut juice was poured into the cauldron, as before, and angorik was added to it. This medicine was then passed among the people in coconut shells, after which the young men gathered about the cauldron, and chanted the following chapeng, which ended the ceremony.

My arm has made this medicine, hot as fire, to ward off illness
My medicine is hot as fire, those who drink will not fall ill
My arm is hot as fire.
My medicine is hot. Illness will not come.
My medicine is very hot. It descends into the oceans. It is very hot.
My medicine is very hot, it descends into the waters, it ascends into the heavens.
(the point being that Aluelap finally puts it into the cauldron).
Drink of this medicine, and be well.
Drink, and live.
This is the medicine of Tilitc. (At this point it is stirred)
Tilewetan has given it its healing powers.
Depart, you devils,

Depart and sleep under the sands.
Depart, Depart!
Depart, Depart!
Depart, you devils of the reef,
Depart you devils of the reef.
Depart, depart!
Sleep!
This is a traditional song, called Sisitenitavei--lit., 'place medicine in the cauldron and sing'"

28: Spiro--119-120 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1
116, 841, 881, 821, 539 Ifalik

"When a girl's mother sees that her daughter's breasts are developing, she informs her to be prepared to menstruate. The fact of menstruation (taurang) is, of course, no secret to the girl. She has by that time witnessed a number of menstrual ceremonies and has observed all her life that menstrual women retire to the menstrual hut. The mother not only prepares her to expect the menstruation but informs her that it is of serious social implication for her. She points out that the girl is about to enter into adulthood and must prepare to assume adult responsibilities and to occupy an adult status. Her carefree days of play must come to an end, she is told, and she must remain in and near the house, observing her mother's activities, and learn to make skirts and become adept in the economic functions of women. Should she not take these responsibilities seriously, she is told, people will poke fun at her, and call her a 'fool fellow', which means that she will not obtain a husband. The mother cannot tell her the meaning and function of menstruation, since she does not know herself. Menstruation, like many other natural phenomena is inexplicable to the natives.

When the girl first sees flood she informs her mother, who in turn informs her husband and the members of her own family. Her husband informs the members of his family. Both families then repair to the girl's house, bringing red paint, beads, and a skirt. The father brings her a special gift of coconuts. Her entire body is smeared with paint, she is bedecked with beads, flowers, and the new skirt, and then the women sit

round her, while she stands in their midst, and sing the following song. If the song is not sung, it is believed, that rain will fall in torrents. [120]

The rat climbs up on the clouds
He drinks the rain so it won't come down
He drinks No more (shouted in crescendo)
Permit not the rain to come
Today it may fall
No more
Let the rain stop when it strikes the breadfruit pits
Away with the clouds
Not a cloud in the sky
Two babies, children of Liol
They paddle out and chase the clouds (from the north)
They paddle out and chase the clouds (from the south)
The foreskin, the foreskin
Back with it, back with it
Back with the foreskin (2)

"2. [See following sheet for footnote 2.]"

"2. [Footnote p. 120] The fanap, the townhall', is distinguished by, among other things, the huge carved phallus attached to the front pillar. But the pillar has other representational objects. On one side, carved in bold relief is a giant lizard. On the other side is painted a large fish. In front, under the phallus are painted small, stylized fish (the same kind as are tatooed on the natives' arms and legs), a rat, and flowers. Now, without claiming dogmatically the validity of a universal symbolism, this juxtaposition of objects, seemingly discrete and disparate, does make sense in terms of psychoanalytic symbolism. The fish, the lizard, and the rat are all phallic symbols, so that the rat and lizard phobia, revealed in the SERT can now be understood as penis phobias. Logically and culturally there is no explanation for their juxtaposition. Psychologically (in the unconscious) their juxtaposition is quite consistent, being symbols of the already obvious and consciously understood carved penis. And if a rat does symbolize the penis then the rat in this song may very well mean the same.

At the same time, the flower is a symbol of children in psychoanalytic symbolism, and again, from this point of view, it's presence here is not bizarre at all, but quite consistent. It represents the greatly desired product of the penis, children. This is given additional credence by the fact that in many songs a mother refers to her child as the flower of her ear. The ear is extremely interesting in view of the widely spread belief in conception through the ear, as in the case of Mary having conceived Jesus by being impregnated by the Holy Ghost through the ear."

This song is repeated a number of times, and while singing, the women perform a sitting dance, which involves the same lascivious movements of the arms and body that we have noted in the case of the bwaruch."

28: Spiro--123-125
116, 539, 833

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-5
Ifalik

"Bwarux-Love Songs--a selection

The following are two love songs, taken from the collection of Dr. Burrows. The bwarux is the largest single category of songs and it is interesting to note--and I chose these for the purpose--the candid language that the woman uses--in glaring contrast to the puritanical taboo on any reference to sex in mixed company. Many of these songs are well known, and are sung by the women when men aren't around and by the men and young men when women aren't around. [124]

Love and Parting

Flower of the sevang tree,
Ango that blooms in the taro swamp.

My sweetheart comes to me,
Stays close to me.
Our feelings are the same
I understand what he says.
He told me 'I'll never leave you.'
I asked 'Truly?', and he said, 'I would lie to you.'
He is like a vein in my body;

Grips me like breadfruit roots under ground.
He loves me too much to leave me.
Wherever he goes the thought of me is with him.
My love is meat and drink to him.
I am like the garland on his head
Like the feathers of the tropic bird
That flies without alighting.
His head is adorned with its plumes,
He makes a fine showing at the canoe house,
Or as he goes into the meeting house Atelu.
He cannot bear to stay long away from me;
He comes around by a back way,
Comes through the woods to find me
At my house in Felarik.
He rejoices at the sight of me,
Takes me in his arms.
We go into the woods together,
Find a pleasant clearing;

28: Spiro--123-125 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-3
116, 539, 833 Ifalik

There we lie down side by side,
Where the gavwu grows low about us.
I take off my skirt, spread my legs,
Show him my genitals.
He admires my thighs,
Caresses me (thighs or vagina) with his hand,
I adore his caresses.
We prepare a bed and lie down
Under the coconut leaves,
Out in the woods where nobody comes.
We lie face to face, or from behind
He clasps me tight.
If he leave me I will be in despair.
We go to the little islet
Called Arelau (formerly in the channel between Falalap and Felarik. Washed away in a typhoon)
Not too close to shore,
Separated from the main islands,
Where not every body can come.
In the midst of our joy comes a feeling of pain.
I tell him, 'You are like my little boy.'

People say, 'They are always together.'
He tells me he is going away,
Going to sail to a far land,
Going to take a canoe and go.
The canoe hoists her sails in the bay by our islet,
He gets aboard. [125]
Though he is far away I will not forget.
He has left his perfume behind;
Left it on my skirt,
Left it on my body;
For a long time it stays.
He has gone far away
To the island of Lamotrk.
As he lies down to sleep
In the canoe house there
He dreams of his sweetheart,
Dreams I am sleeping beside him,
That he is holding me like a child,

That we are in the woods together,
In our favorite clearing.
Always he holds me tight.

He asks me, 'What do the people say?'
I tell him 'A man from Rauau
'Told me not to come to you.
'But I will not leave you,
I pay no attention to what they say.'

Flower in my ear,
Fragnant ango flower,
It is well."

Note: The songs emphasize much gossiping about the love affairs.

28: Spiro--126
116, 539, 833

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-3
Ifalik

"Bwarux-2
Fierce Lover

Here I stand in the woods of Ievang
In my favorite shady grove,
Happily waiting for my lover.
He sets out and walks the trails
Until he comes to my side.
(I tell people it is a hilly place to deceive them).

As he walks the sun shines on his face paint,
The perspiration gleams;
How handsome he is!
Fragrant with flowers on head and neck,
With rich perfume from Truk
In his hair
His great mane of long hair.

Seeing me, he cuts coconut leaves,

Spreads them on the ground
And says, 'Let's sit down here.'

He reaches for my skirt
To take it off;
Snatches it off with his hands.
'All right, whatever you like.'
He sees beneath my skirt and cries out with delight:
'I want to eat you like a beetle nut!'
He sees my tattooing
And says stand up;
I want to drink you like toddy.
He looks me all over,
Always wanting to drink me like toddy.
But I begin to fear
That someone might see us
And go and tell.

(Ted [Burrow's] note: Women were tatooed mainly on the inner side of the thighs, and about the genitals.)

We look into each other's eyes
He is a man of Ievang.

'You are like that fierce fish
That strikes at breadfruit leaf.
'When you see me you seize me.
'Now that we are together, let's stay here!
'Tomorrow you can't come; it is too far.'
Still he wants me, his toddy.
It is like tobacco, too scarce to pass around,
But treasured in a little basket.
So I keep the treasure of my body
In a little basket for him."

28: Spiro--138-139 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-4
116, 764, 539 Ifalik

"When the person is pronounced dead, the wailers now mourn over the corpse with the singing of arueru. The following is an example of one:

Lament for Death of a Son
(the kind of Arueru lezari that is sung at the wailing sessions at a man's death)

Flower of the aro
And the wut, that grow by the house [139]
Near the gable end..
What if he should get worse?
Why should this sickness come to him?
I am afraid he may die..
He lies there and cannot get up.

Oh, now he lies dead!
I rush out beside the lagoon
Searching everywhere for him
But he is nowhere to be seen.
He will not come to the house as he used to,

If he were alive he would be here
Making everybody laugh with his jokes.
His mouth had a charming curve
As he talked and laughed merrily.
A fine beard he had
And beautiful eyebrows.

Missing him is like a fire
That burns my heart and eyes.
I am worn with sorrow.
No one can see my beautiful boy.

What a fine man he was.
Expert in all many [sic] crafts.
He worked hard in his plantation
Clearing out the weeds.
His place was over on the seaward side.
I remember what pride he took in it.

Go there now and what a difference.
The wind comes against my face
And blows on my body.
What if that wind were my boy come back to me.
I go along the shore
Walking in the sunlight
To the bay where he used to go
And around to the other side.
I sit down and there I see him
As if in a dream.
I know it is he before my very eyes.
He is not dead, he is alive.
He sits down beside me,
I think, what can I give him?
I call out come to me, it has been so long.
Tumeric from Truk, with its rare red
And the white paint I give him.

He puts it on his hands, then rubs it on his face.
On his beautiful face and body.
What a lovely youth.
Flower about my neck,
Fragrant aro flower.
Anoint yourselves."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

796 [126] story. This went on for nearly an hour, with the three of us too busy with cameras and recording machine to really appreciate what was going on. Then there was an intermission. Arueligar, the high priest, distributed the two cases of corned beef and the two cartons of cigarettes we had donated for the occasion. Dancers and onlookers refreshed themselves by drinking coconuts. Then the dance was resumed, this time by the women, who formed their line along the west margin of the clearing. Their dress was similar to that of the men, except that of course they wore lava-lavas, not loin-cloths, under their coconut-leaf skirts.

796 178 533 Ted was interested to discover that two of the dances performed by the women were new—a concrete demonstration that the traditional form of the ur dance does not necessarily impose traditional subjects. One of the new dances, turning on a poem composed by Letaweriur, Yani's wife, concerned the first coming of the Americans to the island. It was a very long chant, recounting in detail the appearance of the first ship, the delivery of an official document, the nature of America and the Americans, and the like. Ted's translation of the opening stanza is:

[539]

Now all our women rejoice;
Now the Americans have come.
This is pleasing to the chiefs.
They have given us a paper.
This place is to rise;
This island is to be lifted up.
The chiefs say we are to dance.
We will dance, we will rejoice!
This very month, for this is a good year! Eil
The Japanese are gone.
We did not like their rough ways.
The gods have been good to us;
Now our crops are safe.
The Americans talk kindly. . . .

527 123 262 When the women's dance was over, the people scattered into small groups—made up by family, by household, or by friendship—for the feast. Perhaps "feast" is too strong a word, since there was nothing